Cross-linguistic perception of velar and alveolar obstruents: A perceptual and psychoacoustic study

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Introduction and Rationale
- Velar stop consonants coarticulate more with the following vowel than do stops at other places of articulation.
- This coarticulation may explain why velar stops tend to be acquired relatively later than stops at other places of articulation across many languages.
- The fine phonetic detail of this coarticulation is highly language specific (Arbisi-Kelm et al., 2008). For example:
  - Velar stops before front vowels are more front in Greek than in English.
  - Velar stops before back vowels are more back in Greek than in English.
- Anecdotally, this is reported to influence perception.
- Greek speakers hear very front /ki/ as [ki] while English speakers hear it as [ki].
- Two purposes to this study:
  - Investigate systematically how these cross-linguistic differences in production influence native speaker perception of place of articulation.
  - Relate these cross-linguistic differences in perception to differences in production, as quantified by psychoacoustic properties of the stop bursts.

Method: Perception Experiment
- Participants:
  - 20 naïve adult speakers of American English (tested in Minneapolis).
  - 20 naïve adult speakers of Greek (tested in Thessaloniki, Greece).
- Stimuli:
  - CV sequences produced by 2- to 5-year-old English- and Greek-speaking children and adults participating in the Χορηγούμενος project.
  - English stimuli were /t/- and /d/-initial sequences.
  - Greek stimuli were /t/- and /d/-initial sequences.
- Procedure:
  - There were six categories, based on native speaker transcriptions.
  - Procedure: VAS procedure was used; see Figure 1.

Results: VAS ratings as a function of transcription category
- English stimuli:
  - For both listener groups: VAS ratings for all of the transcription categories were significantly different from each other except for correct /d/ and [d] for /g/ substitutions.
  - English listeners perceived English productions as more velar-like than did Greek listeners.
- Greek stimuli:
  - English listeners perceived only two distinct transcription categories: velar and “not-velar”.
  - Greek listeners perceived three transcription categories: velar, intermediate, and alveolar.
  - Greek listeners perceived Greek productions as more velar-like than did English listeners.

Psychoacoustic Measures
- Loudest peak (Peak ERB)
- Represents the point of highest specific loudness (measured in ERB)
- Higher peak ERB = shorter front cavity (alveolar or front velar)
- Lower peak ERB = longer front cavity (velar)
- Compactness index (CI)
- Proportion of overall loudness focused within a 3-ERB band centered at loudest peak.
- Higher value = compact peak (velar)
- Lower value = diffuse peak (alveolar)

Analysis: Mixed effects models
- Two mixed effect models were calculated separately for the two stimulus languages: one for front vowel and one for back vowel contexts.
- Dependent variable: proportional pixel location.
- Four independent variables = (1) peak ERB, (2) compactness index, (3) (4) interaction of each of (1, 2) with listener language (Greek or English).

Psychoacoustic Analysis
- We generated spectral slices across a 10-ms Hamming window, centered at the burst, to obtain a frequency distribution of the burst energy.
- We calculated specific loudness (SL) against equal rectangular bandwidth (ERB), as in Moore et al. (1997).
- We used two measures, peak ERB and compactness index.
- In previous work with adult productions across languages (Arbisi-Kelm et al., 2008):
  - Peak ERB differentiated velar and alveolar stop consonants in back vowel contexts.
  - Compactness index differentiated velar and alveolar stop consonants in front vowel contexts.

Results
- Language difference
  - Only Greek listeners appear to use compactness index in differentiating velar and alveolar stops in front vowel context (especially for Greek stimuli).
  - Previous psychoacoustic analysis of a larger set of English-speaking children’s productions found that they did not consistently use compactness index to differentiate place of articulation until age 5.
  - The observation that Greek (but not English) listeners rely on compactness index in differentiating place of articulation in front vowel contexts may explain the anecdotal observation that Greek listeners perceive very front /ki/ as [ki], while English listeners perceive it as [ki].

Discussion
- Peak ERB and compactness index worked well to explain listeners’ judgments of place of articulation of alveolar and velar stops, especially for Greek stimuli.

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